5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

776 the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(*a*) *Wekufū.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufū (huecúvu, gūecubu, and variants). Wekufū, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ŋənéchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufū. Rites in connection with wekufū, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufū away.

774 (*b*) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned
776 in our sources, such as Maréupuantu (twelve suns), Meul'en [wekufū] (whirlwind [wekufū]), Anchimallen arəmko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ŋen'ko shompallwe, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Nguenpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapoante"
[787] was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(*c*) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

789 (*d*) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

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disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.)

(*e*) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke.

(*f*) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.)

(*g*) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.)

(*h*) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly.

(*i*) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Robles Rodrigues, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41),

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito,* but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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[P.ii is blank]
[Facing P. ii]

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Silver breast piece (*trapelakucha*)—decorative heirloom jewelry with amulets, worn by Mapuche women

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789.

Photo by Allen C. Shaw

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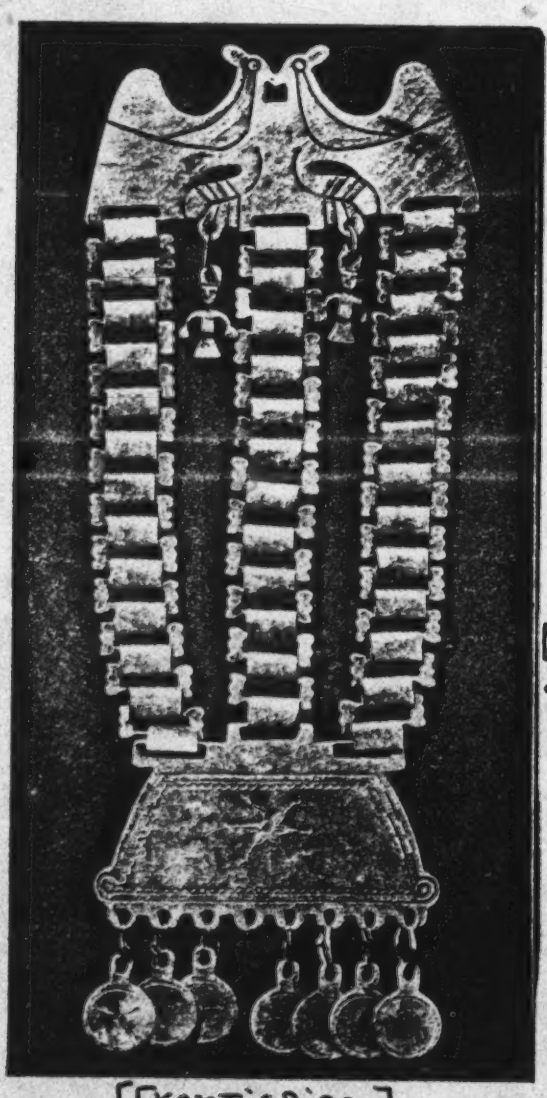
[facing p. iii]



301
n89

[n69]
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"What has happened to you on your trip through the sky? Have you become hawks of the sun?"

Mapuche invocation of ancestral spirits

[Frontispiece]

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans.

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death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms. 763 775

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune. 775 789 754 [756] 775 787 825

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne 775 787 763 [769] [756]

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the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

Wekufe is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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session follows the patern set during the first. However, on the second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

After the initial prayer is offered in the special language (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

The front of the main altar, before which the head priest stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe*; the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe*, where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

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sions. In simplest terms, many if not most of the same persons are involved each time either kind of ceremony is performed.

I have just noted that the differences between *awn* and *ñillatun* are symbolized linguistically. This is a generally true statement, but the exceptions to it are interesting. There are, for example, occasions when both ceremonies are called *awn* (and a vital part of *ñillatun* is called *awn*), which I take to indicate that emphasis is placed on chasing away evil spirits from the ceremonial precincts (which is a figurative translation of *awn*). Again, in terms of symbolic expression, both *ñillatun* and *weupin* (the action) imply the delivery of orations to the world of benevolent spirits. This symbolic identification is translated from Araucanian into Spanish, the Spanish word *trilla* being equated with *awn*, and *oración* with both *ñillatun* and *weupin*, the offering of prayer. In discussing funeral rites and fertility ceremonies in two sections, therefore, I am arbitrarily emphasizing the differences between them for analytic purposes.

Ñillatun

Nillatun congregations involve more than just the members of a single lineage or even the members of a multilineage reservation. Several reservations, or segments of several reservations, interact in the conduct of this ceremony. There is always a core of responsible participants and numerous guests. The responsible participants handle the organization of the ceremony, officiate as ceremonial leaders of one sort or another, make contributions of sacrificial animals, and share food with the audience. A consideration of these and other features of the ceremony brings us to an examination of the structure from the lineage outward into the larger community—in this case, the *ñillatun* congregation.

In Diagram III, I have indicated reservations A through H_3, with A-B-C horizontally hachured (see p. 113 for an explanation of diagonal hachures and arrows) to show that these three form a responsible unit in the conduct of *ñillatun*. Reservations A-B-C hold a *ñillatun* each year, with one of the three acting as the most responsible subunit every year. Such an arrangement offers an ideal condition, for a year might be skipped, usually because of lack of means with which to hold the

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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *fienechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-